



## The R#n# Pokhr# Inscription, K##hm###u

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*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 20, No. 1/3, Studies in Honour of Sir Ralph Turner, Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 1937-57. (1957), pp. 167-187.

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*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* is currently published by School of Oriental and African Studies.

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# THE RĀNĪ POKHRĪ INSCRIPTION, KĀTHMĀNDU<sup>1</sup>

By T. W. CLARK

(PLATE I)

THE *Rānī Pokhrī* (Queen Lake) is situated at the northern end of the Tundikhel, the large parade ground of Kāthmāndu, and near Kamalā-chitol, the north-eastern sector of the town. The lake is rectangular in shape, and the lines of its banks run roughly north-south and east-west. In the middle of the lake is a Śaivite temple, which is connected to the western bank by a straight causeway. A few years ago the lake was enclosed by a high metal fence, built some ten yards back from the edge of the water.

Two stones inscribed with the text which is the subject of this essay have been known to Nepali scholars for some years. Unedited versions of it have been printed in two separate volumes.<sup>2</sup> One stone, A, is about 40 yards north-west of the north-west corner of the *Rānī Pokhrī*. It is now embedded in a wall, and buried to about half its height below ground level. The other stone, B, is in the grounds of the Bīr Darbār, at the corner of a small shrine, and is situated about 250 yards north-east of the north-east corner of the lake. A preliminary study of the text suggested that originally four such stones had been set up, one near each corner of the lake. On investigation of the ground, a third stone was found, two-thirds buried, in the compound of the Bīr Hospital, some 80 yards south-west of the south-west corner of the lake. This stone is referred to as D. The south-east stone has not yet been recovered. It may lie buried in the foundation of buildings erected on the site at a later date.

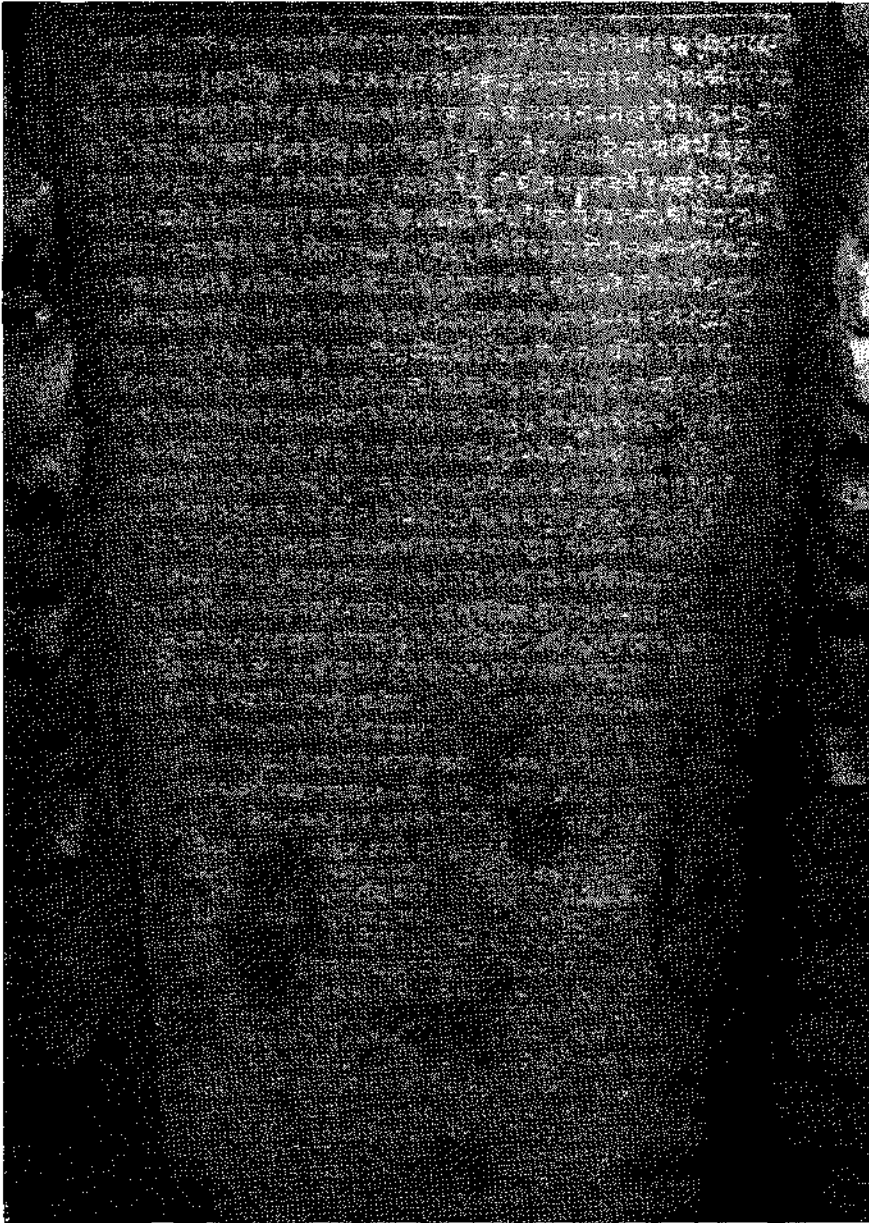
The north-western stone, A, is well preserved, and on the whole easy to read. The text given below is based on it, supplemented by readings from B and D in the few places where A is illegible. The text given is a true copy, done into a modified roman.<sup>3</sup> No attempt has been made to correct or modernize either the spelling or the grammar, except for the introduction of word spaces.

<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Thakur Lal Manandhar, who has worked with me throughout the preparation of the material for this article, both in the exploration of the site and in examination of the text. He discovered for me three of the coins to which reference has been made, and the *vamśāvalī* I have called TL. I am also indebted to Janak Lal Sharma, of the Archaeological Department of the Government of Nepal, who made possible the excavation of the stones, and the rubbing and photographing of the inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> Footnote to an article by Major-General Mrigendra Shamsher J.B.R. in *Bhānuhākta Smarak Granth*, Darjeeling, S. V. Jñāvalī, 1936, pp. 102-3; *Nepālī gadayasāgraha*, ed. Pushkar Shamsher J.B.R., for the Nepāl Bhāṣā Prakāśinī Samiti, Kāthmāndu, 1954, pp. 4-6. Lines 36-41, in Newari, are omitted from this version.

<sup>3</sup> Transliteration note. The two devanāgarī diphthongs are transliterated -ay and -aw. Where in the text characters are written with a subscribed dot, ण and ण, they are transliterated as *y* and *v*. A subscribed bar under a single consonant indicates a *virām* in the devanāgarī; a subscribed bar under two or more consonants indicates a conjunct character in the devanāgarī.

Punctuation note. The original has three marks of punctuation: two down strokes, reproduced by a full stop; four down strokes, reproduced by two full stops; a stroke, running diagonally downwards from left to right, and slightly below the level of the script, reproduced by a comma. The purpose intended to be served by the third mark is not always apparent, but it has in all cases been retained.



*(Photograph by courtesy of Dr. K. C. Rosser)*

STONE A

## TEXT

1. om namaḥ frī frī frī kālikāyēy . fastra fastra saṃgitādi sakala vidyā  
pāraga mahārājādhirāja nepālesvara vidagdha cūḍāma-
2. ṇi sakala rājacakrādhivara frī frī rājarājendra kavindra<sup>1</sup> jaya pratāpa  
malla devena , frī frī frī paramesva-
3. ra paramesvari vrahma bhūmi nema<sup>2</sup> kṛtaṃ<sup>3</sup> . ataḥ paraṃ bhākhā .  
frī frī jaya pratāpa malla devena , āphule sā-
4. stra herikana , asaṃkhyāta punya dekhikana nikāsikana , gamgā  
ādi nānā tirthako jala ,
5. leikana<sup>4</sup> mahārājādhirāja nepālesvara rājarājendra frī frī jaya cakra-  
vartendra malla devako nā-
6. male banāyako poṣarimāhā rāṣyako cha . frī<sup>5</sup> vārānaṣiko gamgā jala .  
frī vaydyanātha-
7. ko gamgā jala . frī bāgmatiko jala bhāri 1064(?)<sup>6</sup> . frī saṃsamulako<sup>7</sup>  
jala . frī panatitirthako<sup>8</sup> saṃ-
8. gamako jala . frī gamḍakiko jala . frī kewḥkiko jala . frī sunda-  
rinadiko<sup>9</sup> jala vahāikana<sup>10</sup>
9. poṣari bharyā . frī nilakamṭhako<sup>11</sup> jala bhāri 63<sup>12</sup> . frī viṣnumatiko  
jala . frī viṣvanābhako<sup>13</sup> jala vahā-
10. ikana , āphule saṃkalpa<sup>14</sup> garikana pāni rāṣyo . frī tecāpako<sup>15</sup> jala .  
frī vāgeṣvarako<sup>16</sup> jala
11. . frī manamatiko<sup>17</sup> jala . frī saṃkhadahako<sup>18</sup> jala . frī kāgeṣvarako<sup>19</sup>  
jala . frī bāgmatinābhako<sup>20</sup> ja-

<sup>1</sup> A personal epithet of Pratāp Malla.<sup>2</sup> B, *niyama*.<sup>3</sup> *vrahma*, the word is unexpected here. The words in the clause being without inflections are difficult to translate. They are part of an established formula.<sup>4</sup> B, *lyaikana*.<sup>5</sup> It is to be noted that gods are given three *śrī*'s, royalty two, and *tirthas* one.<sup>6</sup> There is a fifth figure on the stone, but it is undecipherable. It is illegible also on B and D. A conjectural reading would be either 1 or 9.<sup>7</sup> *saṃsamul*, confluence of the Bāgmatī and Manaurā.<sup>8</sup> *panati*, mod. Nep. *panauti*. South of Dhulikhel in East No. 1. It is a *trivenī*, being the confluence of the Līlāvatī, Rūpāvatī, and Sacī.<sup>9</sup> *sundarinadi*, flows into the Bāgmatī at Sundarijal.<sup>10</sup> *vahāikana*, lit. having caused to flow. Water was brought from Sundarijal by canal.<sup>11</sup> *nilakamṭha*, may be Gosainkund, the source of the Trisūl Gaṇḍakī; but is more likely to refer to Buḍhanilkamṭh, the famous shrine of Viṣṇu, north of Kāthmāṇḍu.<sup>12</sup> The number 63 is from B. A is not clear. Both Nepali versions read 635, which must be an error, as there is nothing on the stones to suggest the presence of a third figure. Neither is there space for one.<sup>13</sup> *viṣvanābha*, reading from D. A and B are illegible. This *tirtha* has not been located.<sup>14</sup> Water is taken in the right hand, and after a recitation of *mantras* is offered to the deity.<sup>15</sup> *tecāpa*, not located. Mentioned by Lévi, III, 175.<sup>16</sup> *vāgeṣvara*, between Bhātgaon and Nāgarkot.<sup>17</sup> *manamati*, the river Manaurā.<sup>18</sup> *saṃkhadaha*, south of Cāṅgunārāyaṇ.<sup>19</sup> *kāgeṣvara*, south-east of Sundarijal. Lévi, III, 175.<sup>20</sup> *bāgmatinābha*, source of the Bāgmatī.

12. la . [rī sapanatirthako <sup>1</sup> jala . [rī komatiko <sup>2</sup> jala . [rī nāhmuṭuko <sup>3</sup> jala . [rī vālānilkamṭhako <sup>4</sup> jala . [rī tyāṇāko <sup>5</sup> jala . [rī maṣilako <sup>6</sup> jala . [rī thayaviko <sup>7</sup> jala . [rī saptakawfikiko  
 14. jala . [rī tawdahako <sup>8</sup> jala . [rī kvaduvālako <sup>9</sup> jala . [rī mātā-tirthako <sup>10</sup> jala . [rī indradahako <sup>11</sup> ja-  
 15. la . [rī gokarnaako <sup>12</sup> jala . [rī gyānavāpiko <sup>13</sup> jala . [rī paṣukunḍako <sup>14</sup> jala . [rī sītāku-  
 16. nḍako <sup>15</sup> jala . [rī ṭeṣudobhānako <sup>16</sup> jala . [rī hanumantaghāṭako <sup>17</sup> jala . [rī golahiṭḍahako <sup>18</sup>  
 17. jala . [rī jvālāmuṣiko <sup>19</sup> jala . [rī muktiksetrako <sup>20</sup> jala . [rī kāliganḍa-kiko jala . [rī jveta- <sup>21</sup>  
 18. ganḍakiko jala . [rī sarajugamgāko <sup>22</sup> jala . [rī mālikāko <sup>23</sup> jala . [rī pātālagamgāko <sup>24</sup> ja-  
 19. la . [rī pryāga , gamgājamunā , sarasvati triveniko jala . [rī kamalesvariko <sup>25</sup> jala .  
 20. [rī saptaganḍakiko jala . [rī vārāhākṣetrako <sup>26</sup> jala . [rī gamgāsā-garako jala . [rī samudrako  
 21. jala . [rī anantalingako <sup>27</sup> jala . [rī sipāḍolako <sup>28</sup> jala . eti tirthako jala eka eka tirthako

<sup>1</sup> sapanatirtha, north of Tokhā, on a tributary of the Viṣṇumatī.

<sup>2</sup> komati, B has *kumbheṣvara*, which is the Skt. form. A lake in Pāṭan.

<sup>3</sup> nāhmuṭu, not located. It may be south-west of Kirtipur, at base of Campadevi.

<sup>4</sup> vālānilkamṭha, mod. Nep. *bālājyu*.

<sup>5</sup> tyāṇā, mod. Nep. *ṭikabhayrab*; south-west of Cāpagāon.

<sup>6</sup> maṣila, not located. Lévi, III, 175, has maṣiṣilā. One suggestion places it near Gorkhā.

<sup>7</sup> thayavi, not located; but may be in East Nepal between Barabise and Dolakha. The reading may be *thayapi*.

<sup>8</sup> tawdaha, near Pharping. Abode of the Nāga Karkotak. See Lévi, index.

<sup>9</sup> kvaduvāla, south-east of Pharping on Bāgmatī.

<sup>10</sup> mātātirtha, west of Kirtipur, at base of Candragiri.

<sup>11</sup> indradaha, near Deocok. Visited by Newārs during the Indrajātrā.

<sup>12</sup> gokarna, the name of the tirtha is *gokarnēṣvar*, on the Bāgmatī. Lévi, III, 55, 169.

<sup>13</sup> gyānavāpi, probably on the Dhobikhola, and the original location of an image of Viṣṇu, which Pratāp Malla transferred to his palace in Kāthmāndu.

<sup>14</sup> paṣukunḍa, in Guhyeśvari, near Paśupatināth.

<sup>15</sup> sītākunḍa, not located, but may be in Guhyeśvari.

<sup>16</sup> ṭeṣudobhāna, confluence of the Bāgmatī and the Viṣṇumatī.

<sup>17</sup> hanumantaghāṭa, south of Bhātgāon.

<sup>18</sup> golahiṭḍaha, may be near Deopāṭan. *gola* is the Newāri name for Deopāṭan. Lévi, II, 124.

<sup>19</sup> jvālāmuṣi, doubtful. It may be a sulphurous river in Dailekh; or it may be a hot spring in the Valley which Pratāp Malla visited secretly, but refused to divulge later.

<sup>20</sup> muktiksetra, near Muktināth.

<sup>21</sup> jvetaganḍaki, not located. One suggestion is that it is near Pokhrā.

<sup>22</sup> sarajugamgā, the river Gogrā. <sup>23</sup> mālikā, uncertain; possibly in Dutī-Acām.

<sup>24</sup> pātālagamgā, near Badrināth, Garhwāl. <sup>25</sup> kamalesvari, uncertain, possibly in Garhwāl.

<sup>26</sup> vārāhākṣetra, site of the dam now being built on the river Koṣī.

<sup>27</sup> anantalinga, Lévi, III, 175, has *anālīnga*. In the village of the same name at the confluence of the Kauśiki and the Līlāvatī, in Dumjā.

<sup>28</sup> sipāḍola, may be an error for Sipāgol, to the east of Bhātgāon.

22. aneka aneka phala , eti tirtha sabay yō poṣarimāhā cha , yō poṣari-  
māhā snāna garikana , de-
23. vatarppana pitaratarppaṇa saṃdhyā ādi samasta karmma , jasale  
garyo eti tirthamāhā snāna garyā-
24. ko karmma garyāko punya phala pāvanu cha . tēṭanaḍhoṣā vāhira  
panālimāthiko devalale sa-
25. dā varti guṭhiko ṣeta , jamala dhvākacalako <sup>1</sup> dakṣina , ṭusāgāla <sup>2</sup>  
devala , [rī upādhyāko
26. panāli , vālamasāna paṭcīma , umadeko devala kulādeṣi māsavakhe-  
lako uttara ,
27. asanapanālimāthiko cawrako devala [rī kāntipurānagarako purva . eti  
bhūmimādhyamahā dha- <sup>3</sup>
28. rnu rojohātmāru <sup>4</sup> garnu ātmahatyā ādi kasēyle kehi <sup>5</sup> pāpa yō poṣarimahā  
garnno <sup>6</sup> nā-
29. hi , kasēyle garyā hudā koṭi agammya gamana , koṭi abhakṣyā  
bhakṣana , koṭi vrā- <sup>7</sup>
30. hmahathyā , koṭi gohathyā , koṭi guruhathyā , koṭi vālahathyā ,  
koṭi strihathyā <sup>8</sup> ,
31. koṭi śivaliṅgadhyamṣana , garyāko pāpa , eti tirthamāhā pāpa  
garyāko e-
32. ti tirthamāhā vasyāko [rī [rī [rī parame[vara parame[varī nāsyāko pāpa ,  
taskā sira <sup>9</sup> ,
33. kadācit haṭha gari vasyā hudā rahyā hudā , ghisvāi aphālyā vāṃdhyā  
ṭilyā , praṭci- <sup>10</sup>
34. ta nāhi , drṣṭa sākṣi [rī āditya , [rī candramā , agni , pṛthvī ,  
jala , ākāsa , vāyu , ātmā ,
35. yama , dina , rātri , saṃdhyā , dharmma , [rī <sup>11</sup> vrāhmaṇa  
pāca , pradhāna pāca , khasa maga-
36. ra pāca . . [rī fāke 1592 kārṭtika jūdi pūrṇimā . thya sahāsana  
sūnā-
37. nam senakarasā , yicira thicira yātasā , gupta yātasā , akhara  
chagvara ta- <sup>12</sup>
38. nasām sūtasām , the <sup>13</sup> h[asyatakva <sup>14</sup> hathyā pāpa rāka juro . sunā-  
nam thya sāhāsana nidā-

<sup>1</sup> Reading uncertain. May be *dhvā-* or *tvā-*. <sup>2</sup> ṭusāgāla, reading from D. A and B illegible.

<sup>3</sup> .hā dha-, from B. A is not clear.

<sup>4</sup> rojohātmāru, the reading is reasonably sure, but the word has no known meaning. The same word occurs in a similar context in the *Śivalaya* inscription in Makhantol.

<sup>5</sup> The vowel -e- is from B.

<sup>6</sup> B and D have garnu.

<sup>7</sup> vrā-, from D. A and B are illegible.

<sup>8</sup> .hathyā, B's spelling in all four words is *hathyā*.

<sup>9</sup> The comma after *taskā sira* is from B. It is not in A.

<sup>10</sup> B, *prayaṣitta*.

<sup>11</sup> B has no [rī.

<sup>12</sup> ta, from B.

<sup>13</sup> the, in this character the *e-kār* is written before the consonant as in Bengali.

<sup>14</sup> .takva, from B. Illegible in A.

39. na yājāna bhinakarasā the<sup>1</sup> dhāko pūnya rāka juro . samvat 790  
āfvina mā-  
40. se sukla pakse . pūrṇṇasyāṃntithaw<sup>2</sup> utrabhaḍa nakṣatra dhruva joge<sup>3</sup>  
somavāla<sup>4</sup>  
41. thva kuhnu . . liṣitam [rī krīnadeva mi([ra)]<sup>5</sup> . subhamastu.

TRANSLATION<sup>6</sup>

(1)<sup>7</sup> Om Obeisance to Śrī Śrī Śrī Kālikā. Śrī Śrī Rājrajendra Kavindra Jaya Pratāp Malla Deva, skilled in all knowledge, of arms, of scripture, of music, etc., the Sovereign of (2) great kings, Lord of Nepal, Able, Bright Head-Jewel, Lord (3) of the Assembly of all kings, has formally dedicated [this land] to be a site for Parameśvar and Parameśvarī and Brahma. Here follows a vernacular. Śrī Śrī Jaya Pratāp (4) Malla Deva, having himself read the scriptures, having seen [in this act] countless merits, having drawn forth [water], having brought the water of various *tirthas* (5) including the Gaṅgā, has placed them in the lake which has (6) been dug in the name of the Sovereign of great kings, Lord of Nepal, Rājrajendra Śrī Śrī Jaya Cakravartendra Malla Deva. (7) Water of the Gaṅgā at Śrī Vārānasi. Water of the Gaṅgā at Śrī Vaidyanāth. Water of Śrī Bāgmati 1064(?) loads. Water (8) of Śrī Sankhamūl. Water of the confluence at the *tirtha* of Śrī Panautī. Water of Śrī Gaṇḍakī. Water of Śrī Kauśikī. (9) Having caused water of Śrī Sundarīnadi to flow [by canal] he filled the lake. Water of Śrī Nilkanṭh 63 loads. Water of Śrī Viṣṇumatī. Having caused water of Śrī Viśvanābha to (10) flow [by canal], having himself made an oblation with it, he put the water [in the lake]. Water of Śrī (11) Tecāpa. Water of Śrī Vāgeśvar. Water of Śrī Manamatī. Water of Śrī Sankhadaha. Water of Śrī Kāgeśvar. Water of (12) Śrī Bāgmatīnābha. Water of Śrī Sapanatīrtha. Water of Śrī (13) Komatī. Water of Śrī Nāhmuṭu. Water of Śrī Vālānilkanṭh. Water of Śrī Tyānā. Water of Śrī Maśila. Water of Śrī (14) Thayapi. Water of Śrī Saptakauśikī. Water of Śrī Taudaha. Water of Śrī Kvaduval. Water of Śrī Mātātīrtha. Water of (15) Śrī Indradaha. Water of Śrī Gokarna. Water of Śrī Gyānavāpī. Water of Śrī Paśukunḍ. Water of Śrī Sītākunḍ. Water of Śrī (16) Tekhudobhān. Water of Śrī Hanumantaghāt. Water of Śrī (17) Golahitidaha. Water of Śrī Jvālāmukhī. Water of Śrī Muktikṣetra. Water of Śrī Kāligandakī. Water of Śrī Śvetagandakī. (18) Water of Śrī Sarajugāṅgā.

<sup>1</sup> the, written as in n. 13, p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> -thaw, in this character the *aw-kār* is written part before and part after the consonant as in Bengali.

<sup>3</sup> -ge, written as in n. 13, p. 170, and n. 1 above. <sup>4</sup> B has somavāra.

<sup>5</sup> -[ra], a conjectural reading suggested by the context. The entire name in B is indecipherable, except that computation of space indicates that the name is different from that in A. The name is indecipherable in D also.

<sup>6</sup> No translation is made of the words *frī* and *tirtha*, as they have no equivalent in English. The former is an honorific title; the latter is a place of special pilgrimage.

<sup>7</sup> The line numbers given in brackets in the translation have only an approximate correspondence with the line numbers given in the text.

Water of Śrī Mālikā. Water of Śrī (19) Pātālgaṅgā. Water of the triple confluence of the Gaṅgā, Jamunā, (20) and Śarasvatī at Śrī Prayāg. Water of Śrī Kamaleśvarī. Water of Śrī Saptagaṇḍakī. Water of Śrī Vārāhakeśvara. Water of Śrī (21) Gaṅgāsāgar. Water of Śrī Samudra. Water of Śrī Anantaliṅga. Water of Śrī Śīpaḍol. The waters of these *tirthas* [are in this lake] (22); the many rewards of each single *tirtha* [are in this lake]; [for] all these many *tirthas* are in this lake. (23) Whosoever performs all the religious duties, such as oblation to the gods, oblation to his ancestors, [and] evening oblations, etc., after having taken his bath in this lake, will obtain (24) the merits and rewards attaching to the performance of the duty of bathing in all these *tirthas*. South of the Jamala Dhvākacala, the field of the *guṭhī* which practises daily [distribution (25) of alms] [measured] from the temple overlooking the reservoir outside the Ṭeṭana Dhokā; west of the reservoir of Śrī Upādhyā and of the children's burial ground [measured from] (26) the temple on Ṭusāgāla; north of the Māsavakhel (27) [measured] from the canal of the temple in Umade; east of Śrī Kāntipur [measured from] the temple on the open land by (28) the side of the reservoir in Asan. No one is to commit any sin against the lake such as digging within any part of these precincts, (29) the doing of (?), and suicide, etc. If anyone does commit [such offences] the sins attaching to the entry into a *crore* of forbidden places, the eating of a *crore* of forbidden (30) foods, the killing of a *crore* of Brahmins, the killing of a *crore* of cows, the killing of a *crore* of *gurus*, the killing of a *crore* of children, the killing of a *crore* of women, the (31) destruction of a *crore* of *śivaliṅgams*; the sins attaching to all these *tirthas*; the sins attaching to the destruction of Parameśvar and Parameśvarī who live in all these *tirthas* (32) [shall be upon] his head. If anyone at any time obstinately persists in abiding [within these limits] [and] if [another] (33) drags him away and ejects him, ties him up and (?) (34) him, no penalty shall be [exactd of him]. In the presence of these witnesses: Śrī Āditya, Śrī Candramā, Fire, Earth, (35) Water, Sky, Wind, Breath, Death, Day, Night, Evening, Faith, five Śrī Brāhmins, five Pradhāns, five Khas Magars. On the (36) full moon of the bright half of Kārtik in the Śrī Śāka [era] (37) 1592. If any one destroys this (?), if he moves [? the inscriptions, etc.] (38) here and there, if he conceals [them], if he adds or erases one letter, the sins of murder mentioned (39) and recorded above shall be upon him. If any one makes provision for this (?), if he repairs it, the merits mentioned above shall be upon him. The Nepali era 790, in the month of (40) *āśvin*, in the bright half, on the day of the full moon, the constellation being *uttarabhādra*, in the conjunction *dhruva*, the day (41) being Monday. Written by Śrī Kṛṣṇadeva Mi(śra). So may it be well.

#### THE DATES

Two dates are given in the text, the former in the Śāka era, the latter in the Nepal era (*samvat*). There is a discrepancy between them with regard to



the month, but it is only an apparent one. The Nepāl era ran, and still does, some 15 days behind the Śāka, which difference is sufficient to place the full moon day on which the lake was consecrated in the month of Kārtik in the one, and in Āśvin in the other. In our calendar, the date is that of the last full moon before 15 October 1670. It will have been noticed that the Nepālī era dating contains details of the constellation (*nakṣatra*) and conjunction (*yoga*), which are not included in the other.

### THE TIRTHAS

The names of 51 *tirthas* are recorded in the text. A few of them are not known, but a general analysis of their location is possible. 8 are in India; 12 in Nepal, but outside the Valley; and the remaining 31 are probably in the Valley. Of the 12 which are outside the Valley, 9 are too far distant from the centre to be included in the ritual circumambulations which were undertaken from time to time by both Hindus and Buddhists.

The list of *tirthas* appended on pp. 174-5 has been abstracted from a *vaṃśāvalī* which was lent to me by a resident of Śankhu. It is a Śaivite list, and purports to contain the names of the 64 principal *tirthas*, in each of which is a *śivaliṅgam*. A casual glance is sufficient to show that the listing is designed to serve as an itinerary. The places are plotted along a regular route in such a way as to minimize the distance to be travelled. The order of the march is along the circumferences of a series of roughly concentric circles, the first of which includes in a wide sweep all the perimeter *tirthas*, the later ones narrowing down successively until a centre is reached in the neighbourhood of Paśupatināth and Guhyeśvarī. The prescribed direction is that of a *pradakṣiṇā*, that is clockwise, which ensures that the central *tirthas* are always on the right of the pilgrim. These journeys, which are still undertaken by the devout, are regarded as a source of much merit.

Compared with the *vaṃśāvalī* list, that in the *Rānī Pokhrī* text appears haphazard. It was certainly not designed as an itinerary; nor can any other principle of arrangement be discovered in it. The first few names alone will serve to illustrate the irregularity of its compilation: Gaṅgā at Vāranaśī (India); Gaṅgā at Vaidyanāth (India); Bāgmatī (Nepal Valley); Sankhamul (Nepal Valley); Panautī (Nepal East No. 1); Gaṇḍakī (West Nepal); Kauśikī (East Nepal); Sundarīnadī (Nepal Valley). Even the *tirthas* within the Valley are not recorded according to any recognizable geographical scheme. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the entries are not based on any known *vaṃśāvalī* or *tirtha māhātmya*. One fact alone is clear: the text includes the names of many of the most famous *tirthas*. For that reason it is to be inferred that the purpose guiding the selection was to confer upon the lake the highest possible sanctity by ensuring that the holiest of the shrines had contributed to its sum of waters.

*Appendix* (see p. 173)

This abstract from the Sāṅkhu *vaṃśāvalī* is presented under the numbers given in the *vaṃśāvalī*. Under each number the names are in the following order: name of the *lingam*; name or names of the *tirthas*; location details as they occur. The location details in English have been added by me.

1. anantalinga; āryātīrtha; confluence of Kauśikī and Lilāvati in Dumjā.
2. śrībhimeśvara; devatīrtha; bhadrakṣwīkīsaṅgam—in Dolakha.
3. śrīkapheśvara; suvarṇatīrtha; suvarṇakṣwīkīśāylāvatisaṅgam—in Kāping.
4. śrīkāśyapeśvara; kāśyapatīrtha; in Madan.
5. śrīphaṭikeśvara; kāntīrtha; himaśravācandrakāntīsaṅgam.
6. śrīcandresvara; ugratīrtha; rūpāvatībhadravatisaṅgam—in Banepā.
7. dhanesvara; ugratīrtha; spṛhādātīrtha; near Banepā.
8. śrīvikateśvara; puṣpatīrtha; near Banepā.
9. indresvara; sacitīrtha; lilāvatarūpāvatisaṅgam—in Panauti.
10. śrīmaleśvara; gandharvatīrtha; lilāvatisukhaśravasaṅgam—east of Goḍāvarī.
11. śrīgupteśvara; siddhatīrtha; prabhāvatīlāsasaṅgam—in Phulcok.
12. śrīnileśvara; rudratīrtha; manamatisaraśvatisaṅgam—in Lele.
13. campeśvara; manasītīrtha; in Lele.
14. śrīrāmeśvara; prabhātīrtha; prabhāvatīsaraśvatisaṅgam—near Prabhāvatī.
15. śrīkāleśvara; kālatīrtha; veytaraṇighaṛgharasaṅgam—in Mrigucco.
16. śrīnaṭārambheśvara; vrahmatīrtha; in Dyatalāco.
17. śrībālakesvara; pargagangārudratīrtha; in Pharping.
18. śrīgopāleśvara; vyāghratīrtha; śīgarīnītīrtha; bāgmatīgomasāṅgam—in Pharping.
19. śrīpākeśvara; vrahmatīrtha; candrakāntīratnakāntīnadisaṅgam—in Chitlong.
20. śrīnūmateśvara; suvarṇatīrtha; citrakāntīsuvarṇanadisāṅgam—in Tistung.
21. śrīnandikeśvara; nandītīrtha; ratnakāntīsuvarṇagrābhāsaṅgam.
22. śrīgokhureśvara; gotītīrtha; ratnakāntīnandītīrtha; in Kuchāl.
23. śrīpāṇḍukeśvara; bhadratīrtha; nāradaśrīrtha; reṇikāretavatisaṅgam vyomaparvat—in Pālūng.
24. śrīkūteśvara; gālavatīrtha; in Agnigāon.
25. śrīasiteśvara mahādeva; asitatīrtha; jākṣavatinānuvatisaṅgam—in Khāsī.
26. śrībhayraveśvara; bhayravatīrtha; śīpṛasawtyātrīśūlagangāsaṅgam—in Nuwākot.
27. śrīvrahmeśvara; vrahmatīrtha; vrahmachālāvrahmapadisāṅgam—in Kapilās, north of Nuwākot.
28. kārṭikeśvara; skandātīrtha; candradvīptīsiddhīdravasaṅgam—in Yatāgung.
29. jatarudresvara; yatarīśīrtha; vāgadvatīrtha vrahmatīrtha; jyeṣṭhīlāvisisaṅgam sundarījālā—in Śeopurī.
30. śrīkāgeśvara; ākāśagangātīrtha; in Gāgal.
31. śrīmaṇicūdeśvara; maṇicūdakundātīrtha; in Sāṅkhu.
32. śrīyogeśvara; yāgagangātīrtha; in Sāṅkhu.
33. śrīotilingeśvara; nārāyaṇanadīkarnātīrtha; (?)
34. yonilingeśvara; yogatīrtha; ratnavatīnārāyaṇisaṅgam—in Sāṅkhu.
35. śrīratnacūdeśvara; ratnahradaśrīrtha; in Mahādeo Pokharī, east of Valley.
36. śrīvāgīśvara; vīranadītīrtha; (?)
37. śrīkāleśvara; jankhakundātīrtha; in Cāngu.
38. śrīvālmikeśvara; vīrabhadratīrtha; bhadraṇadivīranadisāṅgam—in Bhātgaon.
39. śrīmāṅgeśvara; bhadratīrtha; in Bhātgaon.
40. śrīvimaleśvara; vimadākagangātīrtha; Śipāgol.
41. śrīanantalingeśvara; ṛṣītīrtha; anantalinga.
42. śrīvijarūpeśvara; vṛddhagangātīrtha; (?)
43. someśvara; somatīrtha; padmanadīkośagangāsaṅgam.
44. śrīgīrīrāteśvara; goṣṛṅgatīrtha; goṣṛṅgīśkravatisaṅgam—in Goḍāvarī.
45. śrīṛṅgeśvara; siddharasatīrthakundālā; in Sunāguthī.
46. śrīṛilingeśvara; mutikundātīrtha; in Pātan.
47. kupateśvara; udakakundātīrtha; in Pātan.
48. sarveśvarakumbheśvara; gowīkundātīrtha; tāgrahadaśrīrtha; in Pātan.

49. frigolokefvara; rudratīrtha mātātīrtha; takṣakahrada kakejikahrada awṣadbinadi suvarṇanadi—near Kirtipur.
50. candramāmradevvara; bhaṣmatīrtha liṅgātīrtha candradviptikanakhalatīrtha; matsya-gaṅgānavadhārāsangam suvarṇadhārānanditīrthakṣatadvipatīrthabhaṣmagangāsangam indrahra-danandininadi—? at base of Candragiri.
51. frīyakṣefvara; nanditīrtha yakṣatīrtha asīratīrtha; in (?) Ichāngu, west of Valley.
52. fricandikefvara; pīṇḍakarātīrtha; in Tokhā.
53. dharmefvari; yeṣṭilādharmagangāsangam; capaligrām—near Budhānīkanth.
54. frigokarṇefvara; pitāmahatīrtha; vāgmatīcandrabhāgasangam—in Gokarṇa.
55. frīkoṭefvara; saṃkhamūlatīrtha; vāgmatīmanamatīrudradhārāsangam; in Pātan.
56. frīvāgefvara; vāṇagangātīrtha; ? in Bāṇeśvar.
57. frīpāṇefvara; mayuratīrtha; calān—in Gyāneśvar Calān.
58. frīparvatefvara; jñānakūpatīrtha; in Deopātan.
59. frījalefvari; vāgmatījalefvaratīrtha; guhṇefvarīgḥāṭa.
60. frīguhṇefvari; guhṇefvaritīrtha paṣukunḍa ra guhṇāvrahmodayatīrtha sundarītīrtha skandakunḍasujoṭṭgangātīrtha bhṛgukunḍalavrahmamedatīrtha agastyakunḍavrahma-dvīpatīrtha saptarṣitīrtha paṣuyonitīrtha gokhuratīrtha yogakunḍa yajñakunḍasuvarṇa-dhārānadīko sodakatīrtha; in Guhyeśvari.
61. frīkirātefvara; rudrasahasratīrtha; in Gaurīgḥāt.
62. frībhaṣmefvara; bhaṣmagangākunḍatīrtha; south of Paśupatināth.
63. frībhuvānefvari; jñānitīrtha; in Deopātan.
64. frīrudragorefvara; rudrasnānodakatīrtha; in Paśupatināth.

#### THE PRECINCTS OF THE LAKE

The ground in which the *Rānī Pokhrī* was dug was probably part of the Māsavakhel, a large tract of open grass land, the southern sector of which is now included in the Tuṇḍīkhel. At the time of the excavation the immediate surrounds were incorporated within the precincts of the lake, and to mark the limits of the enclosure four temples were erected, one at each corner. The most likely position for the inscribed stones was in front, or at the side, of the temples. The text refers to the temples simply as *devāla*. No special dedication, apart from that which embraced the whole site, is given; for which reason it may be conjectured that they contained no image. The existence to-day of other empty shrines in Kāthmānḍu, belonging to this period, confirms this view. The four temples, which now stand near the corners of the lake, besides being nearer the edge of the water than the *devāla* could have been, are clearly of later origin. They were probably built by Jang Bahādur at the time when he demolished what Oldfield describes as the 'picturesque' central temple and the 'bridge of several arches which connected it with the western side of the tank', and replaced them by 'the present ugly brick-and-plaster structure'. The corner temples, each of which contains an image, are all of this unattractive style of architecture. The original *devālas* have completely disappeared.

The text of the inscription describes the precincts of the lake in considerable detail.

The north-western *devāla* was built very near to the *panālī* outside the Teṭana Dhokā. A *panālī* is an artificial reservoir, which is fed by water running in from a canal, *kulā*, through an underground sluice, and falling into the reservoir usually through the mouths of *makara*, fish-like gargoyles. Such

reservoirs and canals formed the water supply system of Newār Kāṭhmāṇḍu. This *panālī* still exists, though much decayed and full of stagnant water. The *Ṭeṭana Dhokā*, however, has been dismantled, though its location at the entrance to the *Kamalāchiṭol* is revealed by a large base stone, which protrudes from the south side of the road leading south-west to the *Hanumān Dhokā*, and by a small *Ganeś* shrine set in a wall behind the stone. The name of the gate has been forgotten, but it can be inferred from the retention of the name *Ṭeṭana Bahā* by a small *viḥāra*, or monastic establishment, nearby. The gate was still standing in the time of Oldfield and Wright, who both refer to it as the 'north-east gateway'. I am informed that it was dismantled by Bir Shamsher, who was *Mahārāja* from A.D. 1885 to A.D. 1901, as part of a building programme which gave to Kāṭhmāṇḍu the *Darbār School* and *Hospitals*. The two lions, which originally stood on either side of the gate, have been removed to adorn the image of *Kāla Bhairava* in the *Hanumān Dhokā*. The *panālī* and the gate fix the approximate position of the *devāla*.

A line drawn east from this *devāla* to that in the north-east corner would have been immediately to the south of a *guṭhi* field and of part of the village of *Jamala*. The field is now completely built over; but a resident of one of the houses standing on the site told me that the field was in existence in the time of his grandfather, to whom part of it was presented for building purposes. A *guṭhi* is an association of Newārs of the same caste for the performance of an agreed religious or social act. It was, and still is, customary for the members to contribute to the funds of the association, and for part of the money so collected to be invested in land, the revenues from which were then devoted to the purpose for which the association was formed. A *sadā vartī guṭhi* is one which is committed to the daily distribution of alms. There are a number of such *guṭhis*, and they are usually wealthy.

Something of the village of *Jamala* still remains, but a part, possibly a large part, of it was demolished by Bir Shamsher to make room for an engineering workshop and the grounds of his *darbār*. The *viḥāra* of the village was filled with débris in the course of the operation, and left so; but it was re-excavated and re-furbished later by Chandra Shamsher. Though apparently little used to-day, it is still famous as the original shrine of Śveta Machendranāth, whose image now resides in a large temple near the centre of Kāṭhmāṇḍu. If local etymology can be accepted, the memory of the earlier location of the deity is preserved in the Newārī name of its present habitat: *jambādya*, i.e. the god, *dya*, of the *viḥāra*, *bā*, of *Jamala*, *jam*.

The meaning of the Newārī word *ḍhvākacala* or *ṭvākacala* is lost, and its reference is therefore unknown. There are three possible conjectures. It may have been the name of the southern or south-western sector of the village of *Jamala*, or of a gate which stood there; or the whole phrase *jamala ḍhvākacala* may have been the name of the *guṭhi* field. It was a common practice among Newārs to give proper names to their fields.

The landmarks delimiting the precincts of the lake on the eastern side

have been completely obliterated by buildings erected by Bīr Shamsheer and Chandra Shamsheer : the Sanskrit School, the Bīr Library, and the Trichandra College. Also in the same row now are two mosques ; and, very recently, two petrol stations and an electricity power house. The text mentions two landmarks, in addition to the *devāla* of which no trace remains : *Śrī upādhyāko panālī*, the reservoir of Śrī Upādhyā, and *vālamasāna*, child cemetery. There are three *panālīs* behind the line of recent buildings, but it is unlikely that any of them is the one referred to. The most northerly of them is too far from the lake to serve as a mark. Of the other two, one is comparatively new ; and both of them, being east of the south-east corner of the lake, are too far south, in view of the fact made clear in the text that the *panālī* lay to the north of the *vālamasāna*, which was itself an eastern, not a southern, landmark. It is possible that the Musulmān cemetery and gardens behind the two mosques and the Trichandra College cover land originally used as the *vālamasāna* ; and that the *panālī* was filled in and its water supply diverted to make room for the foundations of one or other of the later buildings. Local tradition still retains a memory of a *vālamasāna* in roughly the area indicated ; and the use of such a cemetery, in which were buried the bodies of children who died in infancy, is attested by the continuance of the custom in modern practice.

The southern boundary of the lake is the Māsavakhel, measured from the canal, *kulā*, which ran, presumably in a southerly direction, from the *devāla*, which was situated in an area known as *umade*. A theory that the word *umade* might be related to the name of the goddess Umādevī was fully confirmed, in the course of a close exploration of the site, by the discovery of a stone buried in the compound of the petrol station at the western end of the road leading to Dilli Bazār. The Newārī inscription on the stone mentions the existence of an old temple in honour of Umādevī and Maheśvar. Traces of the *kulā* running from Umade are possibly preserved in the ditch which separates the present Ṭuṇḍikhel on the east from the road leading south towards the Bhadrakālī Temple and the outer gate of the Singha Darbār. This ditch connects with a channel, probably itself an old *kulā*, now buried but not obliterated, which runs across the Ṭuṇḍikhel, north of the Mahānkāl Temple. As has been mentioned earlier, what remains of the Māsavakhel is preserved in the northern part of the present Ṭuṇḍikhel. The land south of the Māsavakhel is reported to have been rough woodland, which was later cleared and levelled by Jang Bahādur for use as a parade ground.

The open ground, *caura*, in Asantol, which lay to the west of the lake, and which must have been an extension of the Māsavakhel, is completely covered by the Darbār School, the two hospitals to the south of it, and fairly recent houses to the west. The fortunate discovery of stone D in the compound of the Bīr Hospital makes it certain that the *devāla* and *panālī* were somewhere in that vicinity. The *panālī*, which in any case must have fallen into disuse after the diversions of the water canals by Jang Bahādur and Bīr Shamsheer, was probably

filled in at the time of the erection of the hospital ; and the *devala* has suffered the same fate as the other three.

#### HISTORICAL NOTE <sup>1</sup>

The circumstances in which the *Rānī Pokhrī* came to be constructed are not clear. The name itself, which is the only name current, or known to have been current, in the Nepali language, is old, probably as old, or nearly as old, as the lake. The name implies the association of some queen with the lake. Yet the inscription makes no reference to a queen, nor does it use the name *Rānī Pokhrī* or any other proper name. The only persons mentioned in the inscription are the king, Pratāp Malla, and his son, Cakravartendra Malla, in whose honour the lake was constructed and dedicated. Wright and Lévi both mention a queen, but differ in their account of her association with it. In Wright's version, which is based on his *vaṃśāvalī*, three persons are involved : the king, one of his queens, and his dead son. 'The deceased son's mother was inconsolable for the loss of her youngest son, and the Rājā, to comfort her, caused a tank to be dug. . . . This tank is called the Rānī Pokhrī.' Lévi's short note, which, since it is not supported by any reference to an authority, must be presumed to rest upon local information acquired in Kāthmāṇḍu, makes no mention of the prince. 'He (i.e. Pratāp Malla) dug the pretty basin of Rānī Pokhrī to the east of Kāthmāṇḍu, in honour of a queen.' A recent publication in Nepal, *Devamālā*, which draws its material from a privately owned *vaṃśāvalī*, contains this statement. 'Candrapatendra Malla, son of Śrī Rājā Pratāp Malla, having the many distinguishing marks of royalty, ascended the throne, but after he had reigned for 24 hours, he died. His mother Mahārānī Bhuvana Lakṣmī, being in great sorrow, had the lake made and set up in the middle of it her personal deities and Mahādeva. She had water brought from all the *tirthas* and from Buḍhanīlkanṭh, and established the lake on the 15th day of the bright half of Kārtik in the year of the Nepali era 790. The lake is called the *Rānī Pokhrī* because the queen made it.' Here the participation of the king is not referred to. A copy of a private *vaṃśāvalī*, the original of which I have not been able to trace, and which I identify by the initials TL, contains this account of the story. 'On account of the ill fortune of his youngest son, the king, expending much money in his honour, with great imagination, sent for water in all directions and had it brought from many *tirthas*, and constructed the *Rānī Pokhrī*, which he named "Nāgatalāu" (Nāga Lake), and in the middle of it he placed his personal deity (or deities). Filling [the lake] with the water of Nilkanṭh, and putting in it the water of all the *tirthas*, he constructed the lake in the form of a *yantra* <sup>2</sup> ; and placing in it the *Nāga Saṅkha-phaṇī*, formally and auspiciously dedicated

<sup>1</sup> The published sources referred to in this historical note are : Wright, *History of Nepal* ; Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. II ; Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipal* ; Landon, *Nepal*.

<sup>2</sup> *yantra* : an angular geometrical figure. The figure in this case is a rectangle.

it, and so released his son from re-birth.' The distinguishing features of this version are that the queen is not mentioned, though the name *Rānī Pokhrī* is used, and that, though the lake is alleged to have been given the name 'Nāgatalāu', the writer of the *vaṃśāvalī* did not adopt it. The name 'Nāgatalāu' does not occur in any other source known to me, nor has it gained currency in the language.

The only inference that can safely be drawn from these divergent accounts is that the events which led up to the digging of the lake are to be sought in the domestic history of the royal family. To make a study of this it is first necessary to take note of material available in other sources.

A search for inscriptional material which I have been able to carry out recently<sup>1</sup> in Kāthmāndu has brought to light three inscriptions, which were apparently not known to Wright or Lévi. Two are in the Hanumān Dhokā, the Court Darbār Square of Kāthmāndu; the third is on the two flanks of the elephant statue which stands on the south bank of the *Rānī Pokhrī*. All three are in Newārī. The first is on the outer wall of the octagonal temple on the west side of the Hanumān Dhokā. After citing the genealogy of the king and of one of his queens, who was the daughter of Vir Nārāyaṇ of Bihār, the text continues: 'This Rūpamatidevī was the wife of Śrī Śrī Pratāp Malla, [as was] his beloved Śrī Rājamatidevī of Karnāṭ. Both these queens having died, I, Pratāp Malla, have built this temple, and so that we may not be separated in our future lives, I have built statues of Rukminī and Satyabhāmā, and have set up an image of Vamśa Gopāl. Samvat 769 phālgun (app. February 1649)'. The second inscription is on the northern face of the stone pillar which was erected in front of the Degutale temple, a three-tiered shrine built as an integral part of the palace. On top of this pillar are seated figures said to be those of Pratāp Malla and members of his family. Part of this text reads as follows: 'I, Śrī Śrī Rājarājendra Kavindra Jaya Pratāp Malla, have set up this pillar of stone, and have made my own statue in gold, and those of my wives, the Mahārājakumārī of the great city of Bihar, the Mahārānī Jagajjananī Śrī Śrī Anaka Priyadevī, and Śrī Śrī Mahārānī Prabhāvatidevī, and of our sons Mahārājakumār Śrī Śrī Jaya Bhupendra Malladeva and Mahārājādhirāja Nepāleśvara Rājendra Śrī Śrī Cakravartendra Malladeva and Śrī Śrī Jaya Mahipatendra Malladeva and Śrī Śrī Jaya Nṛpendra Malladeva and Śrī Śrī Jaya Pārthivendra Malladeva; and being desirous to make these eight persons free from re-birth, I have placed on the top of this pillar golden images of the eight: in the year samvat 790 Bhādrapada (app. August-September 1670)'. Two points require immediate comment: the senior queen is given the grandiloquent title 'jagajjananī' (world-mother); and the four sons from Cakravartendra to Pārthivendra are listed in reverse order of seniority. The elephant inscription is badly mutilated and in large part obscured by cement, but, though the readable fragments cannot be pieced together into a coherent

<sup>1</sup> January to March 1957.

translation, sufficient is decipherable to identify three persons, presumably those riding on the animal, as the king, Cakravartendra, and Mahipatindra. Landon photographed the statue and commented on it. 'The Nepalese Chronicle asserts that the figures upon the back of the elephant are those of Pratapa and the mother of the deceased prince. It will be seen from the illustration below that there are three figures on the back of the elephant, and it is doubtful whether any of them is that of a woman.' The chronicle referred to is Wright's. Whereas the observation in Landon's second sentence is correct in both its clauses, it is surprising that he did not notice the inscription.

I have seen three silver coins in Kāthmāndu which belong to the period under examination. The first bears the name Śrī Śrī Jaya Cakravartendra Malla Deva ; and it is dated 789 (A.D. 1669). This coin is of capital importance in that it confirms beyond doubt that Cakravartendra was on the throne for part of that year. It appears to be identical with the coin which Wright describes. The half-mohar to which Landon refers, and of which he gives two photographs is clearly another coin. Moreover it is undated. The second coin bears the name Śrī Śrī Jaya Nṛpendra Malla Deva. Its date is probably 796 (A.D. 1676). The third figure is not clear, but it is not 9, which indicates that it is a different coin from that mentioned by Lévi, which is dated 799 (A.D. 1679). The third coin is inscribed Śrī Śrī Jaya Bhūpālendra Malla Deva. Its date is 812 (A.D. 1692). This also is a different coin from Lévi's, which is dated 802 (A.D. 1682).

Local tradition has but two contributions to offer to the story of the *Rānī Pokhrī*, but they are substantial. The first is the name itself, *Rānī Pokhrī* (Queen Lake), a central fact which cannot be ignored. The second is a story which was given to me this year, to the effect that Cakravartendra Malla was killed on the day of his accession by an elephant which took fright, and that in commemoration of the manner of his death the elephant statue with its three figures was erected on the south bank of the lake. This account of his death has more of the ring of truth than that given by Wright and others that the newly crowned king was killed by an unfortunate conjunction of emblems on the issue of coins struck to mark the occasion. It was, and still, of course, is, the custom in Nepal for a king on the day of his coronation to ride in procession through the streets of the capital on an elephant.

A few dates seem to have been established beyond reasonable doubt ; and they are important for the reconstruction of the history of the period, including that of the *Rānī Pokhrī*.

<i>Christian Era</i>	<i>Nepali Era</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Source</i>
1639	759	Pratāp Malla ascended the throne	Wright, Lévi
1649	769	Date of the memorial tablet in memory of the two queens	Inscription
1662	782	Conclusion of peace with the king of Bhātgaon, and last mention of war	Wright, Lévi



<i>Christian Era</i>	<i>Nepali Ēra</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Source</i>
1666	786	Delegation of royal power to his sons by Pratāp Malla	Wright, Lévi
1669	789	Cakravartendra Malla ascended the throne	Coin
1670 Aug.-Sept.	790	Erection of pillar in the Hanumān Dhokā	Inscription
1670 Sept.-Oct.	790	Dedication of the <i>Rānī Pokhrī</i>	Inscription
1676(?)	796(?)	Nrpendra Malla on the throne	Coin
1679	799	Nrpendra Malla on the throne	Coin
1682	802	Bhūpāendra Malla on the throne	Coin
1692	812	Bhūpāendra Malla on the throne	Coin
1694	814	Bhāskara Malla ascended the throne	Wright, Lévi

Pratāp Malla ascended the throne in A.D. 1639, probably while his father was still alive. The *vaṃśāvalis* explain that his father was mad. There were two wives, one from Bihār, the other from Karnāt; but both of them died before A.D. 1649. He re-married, this time again two, of whom one also was from Bihār. The *Devamālā* gives a third name, which may be that of a third queen, or a variant name for one of the two queens. Two of these queens were living in A.D. 1670, when the pillar was erected in the Hanumān Dhokā; and one of them must have been the mother of Cakravartendra, the youngest prince. It is not known for certain which queen was the mother of any of the four princes, Pārthivendra, Nrpendra, Mahendra, and Cakravartendra. We cannot be sure either of the relationship to Pratāp Malla of the Mahārājkumār Jaya Bhūpendra, who is listed immediately after the queens on the pillar. He may have been his son, as the text implies; but the *vaṃśāvalis* concur that there were only four sons. So it is more likely that he was a young grandson, and possibly the same person as Bhūpāendra, who is stated in the TL *vaṃśāvali* to be the son of Pārthivendra.

Pratāp Malla's was a strangely mixed character. From the record of his campaigns against Gorkhā, Tibet, and the other two Valley cities, it may be deduced that he was a military commander of ability. His army was never defeated in battle. Yet the *vaṃśāvalis* show him to have been eccentric, vain, and vicious. Of his eccentricity the two polyglot stones in the Hanumān Dhokā—there are two, not one as Lévi implies—containing 15 and 14 different scripts respectively, stand in illustration. A further example is his long sojourn in a camp north of Kāthmāndu while an embankment was being built to make possible a direct flow of sacred water from Budhanīkanṭh to a pond in his palace, after the completion of which he was able, as he had vowed, to return home with the water. There are many instances also of an inordinate religious fervour. At the other extreme, he was capable of indescribably vicious outrages, some of which brought him into serious disrepute with his subjects. On one occasion he was compelled to leave Kāthmāndu and undergo a long and

costly expiation at Paśupatināth. It must be remembered that there may have been a strain of insanity in his blood; and it is possible that as he got older his excesses reached such a pitch that steps had to be taken to curb them. The report, common so far as I know to all the *vamśāvalīs*, that in A.D. 1666, he decided on the advice of his religious teacher to devote himself to religion and poetry, and to delegate the exercise of his royal prerogatives to his sons for a year at a time, may be interpreted as a *coup d'état*, or at least as some re-adjustment within the royal family, undertaken very probably to prevent a serious scandal. Pressure could have been brought to bear by a number of agents: the senior queen, or both queens together, the sons, the courtiers and army chiefs, or any combination of them. What actually happened we do not know; but there is no doubt that some move was made which had the effect of limiting the powers of the king. In this connexion the title 'jagajjananī' (world-mother) applied to the senior queen on the pillar inscription springs to mind. It might have been merely an honorific title; but it is at least possible that it adverts to a more practical exercise of 'motherly' care.

The situation at court between A.D. 1666 and A.D. 1694, when Bhāskara Malla ascended the throne, is obscure. The orderly taking-over of office by the four sons reads a little like a fairy story, it is true, but the unanimity of the *vamśāvalīs* precludes its being dismissed as without foundation in fact. The king was not officially deposed. He was still allowed to use the royal style of *Mahārājādhirāja Nepāleśvara*; and his name appeared in public pronouncements. But his authority diminished until probably by the middle of the eighth decade nothing remained to him but the style of king. No other hypothesis can explain the evidence. The coin struck in his name is proof that Cakravartendra was co-king in A.D. 1669. Other coins, my own and those mentioned by Lévi, attest that Nṛpendra and Bhūpālendra were in power between A.D. 1676 and 1679, and A.D. 1682 and 1692, respectively. The TL *vamśāvalī* states that Pārthivendra was on the throne for some years—the dates in this *vamśāvalī* are unreliable. Wright and Lévi mention Mahendra and Bhūpālendra as succeeding Pratāp Malla. If Wright's date for the king's death, A.D. 1689, is correct, it can hardly be disputed that for some considerable time before he died he had ceased to be king in anything but name. Lévi's omission of the date of his death, for the date of the accession of an heir is in the circumstances not necessarily the same thing, may be interpreted to suggest that there was doubt about it; and that in any case it was not at the time a matter of national importance.

Frequent changes of monarch and uncertainty with regard to succession often in the history of Nepal led to periods of disorder, in which rival contenders strove to establish themselves, to the detriment of peace and order in the kingdom. On this occasion there were frequent changes of monarch, but the *vamśāvalīs* contain no hint of serious upset, rivalry, or strife at court, or unrest among the nobility and people. Moreover, there was apparently no renewal of hostile action on the part of the not too friendly states by which

Kāthmānḍu was surrounded, and with which it had recently been at war. Weakness of government would have been an invitation to an ambitious and opportunist neighbour. It is true that the only evidence we have on the subject is that of silence; but it cannot be ignored. The writers of the *vanśāvalis* would hardly have passed unrecorded a story of disorder and civil strife. Trouble was news then as now. It is reasonable to conclude therefore that it was a period of no serious disorder, but rather of internal stability and external peace; and the conclusion, if correct, immediately suggests a question similar to that which arose previously: was there not some person, or persons, anonymously in control of the course of events, whose authority was strong enough to maintain stability of government?

Certain items of information, each supported by at least two different sources except (2), (3), and (4), are now available for an attempted reconstruction of the *Rānī Pokhrī* problem in its historical setting. (1) The Nepali name of the lake was, and still is, the *Rānī Pokhrī*. (2) The name does not occur in the inscription. (3) There is no allusion to a queen in the inscription. (4) In 789 N.E., Cakravartendra ascended the throne and died. (5) In 790 N.E., Cakravartendra was accorded the full style of royalty, even though he was dead. (6) There is no mention of the death of Cakravartendra in the pillar inscription. (7) Pratāp Malla was not after A.D. 1666 in full active control of the affairs of state, but his name continued to be used as a symbol of authority. (8) Between A.D. 1662 and 1694, six kings ruled in Kāthmānḍu, not counting Bhāskara Malla, who succeeded in A.D. 1694; and there were at least eight changes of succession. (9) It was a period of apparently stable government, and there were no external wars.

A hypothetical reconstruction, to be satisfactory, must take account of all the nine foregoing items of information. To account for some it is necessary to postulate the agency of the queen, who was the mother of Cakravartendra. To account for others it is necessary to postulate the existence of a personality, or personalities, powerful enough to maintain continuity and harmony of government in spite of frequent changes of monarch. But to fit all nine into a framework of explanation which is historically coherent, the only satisfactory hypothesis is that the queen, the mother of Cakravartendra, was that powerful personality behind the throne. The queen, in my view, was the Mahārānī Jagajjananī Anaka Priyadevī, whose style might also have included the names Bhuvana Lakṣmī. On the basis of this hypothesis a reconstruction is possible.

When the conduct of the king passed all reasonable bounds and no other means of preventing a scandal presented itself, the queen, in A.D. 1666, with the agreement of the Brahmins and the court, arranged for the royal prerogatives to be exercised by the four princes in turn, though the king was allowed to retain his royal style. To external appearances he seemed to have made a voluntary surrender of his office. The experiment proved successful. In its fourth year, A.D. 1669, the youngest prince ascended the throne, but was killed in an elephant accident on the same day. The queen, stricken with grief,

refused to allow any of the other brothers to become king, in title at any rate, during what would have been the year of office of her youngest and favourite son. She suppressed mention of his death, and had the full royal style accorded him when he was referred to in a public inscription. At the same time she gave orders for the construction of the *Rānī Pokhrī* and the erection of a commemorative elephant statue on its bank. The omission of her name from the lake inscription, and the general fact that the *vaṃśāvalīs* make no reference to the authority she wielded, are not in any sense to be regarded as contradictory, because, and this point is most important, they conform to the expected pattern of social behaviour in Hindu society. The role prescribed to her as a wife would have rendered unthinkable any official use of her name during the life-time of her husband. Complete anonymity was, however, impossible. The people of the capital, knowing of her interest in the lake and of the grief which occasioned it, called the lake the *Rānī Pokhrī*. History, it seems, has restored to her part of the obscurity which public acclaim denied her at the time, by losing her personal name. After Cakravartendra's year was over, the pattern of double royalty, with Pratāp Malla king *de iure*, one of his sons king *de facto*, and both using the title of royalty, was resumed. As time went on, the need for the personal control of the queen may have diminished, and the succession by seniority been reverted to ; but the critical period was over, and peace had been assured for the state. Pratāp Malla lived on for a number of years, but when he died, and the date is not yet confirmed, his death had no historical importance.

That this reconstruction is hypothetical is admitted, but it fits the facts ; and there seems to be no other framework of explanation within which the conflicting evidence of *vaṃśāvalīs*, inscriptions, coins, and popular tradition can be brought into accord.

#### LANGUAGE NOTE

The first two lines of the text and part of the third are in Sanskrit ; the last five lines and part of the preceding line are in Newārī ; but the greater part of the text, approximately 33 lines, is in Nepali. The assignment to Nepali of the major place in a document belonging to the year A.D. 1670 is an event of importance in the history of the Nepali language.

In A.D. 1768, the long campaign of Prithvī Nārāyan Śāh and his Gorkhālī forces against the three cities of the Valley ended in complete success for the invaders. The Malla dynasty was crushed, never to revive ; its kings had either been killed in battle or defeated and put under restraint. The newly won power of Prithvī Nārāyan was unchallenged, and within a remarkably short time his dominion was extended to Garhwāl in the west and Sikkim in the east. The Newārs became a subject people, and were permitted no share in the affairs of state. Their language suffered a similar ignominy : their conquerors did not speak it, nor did they then or at any later time attempt to learn it. It was

banished to the homes of the defeated. It would, however, be erroneous to suppose that this utter and sudden change in political power was paralleled by an equally radical change in the language situation, and that Nepali, as it is called to-day, was brought into Kāthmānḍu and the Valley cities at the time of the conquest, as an alien language. Great though the change in the relative status and prestige of the two languages was, the witness of the *Rānī Pokhrī* and other inscriptions goes to show that Nepali was not at that time an alien language, but that it had been domiciled in Kāthmānḍu over a long period.

The *Rānī Pokhrī* inscription is dated A.D. 1670 ; but there is in Kāthmānḍu a short, but still earlier, inscription, which is dated A.D. 1641. The greater part of both texts is in Nepali. This fact constitutes *prima facie* evidence that Nepali was known and in formal use in Kāthmānḍu at least 130 years before the Gorkhā invasion, and suggests that A.D. 1641 was the end of a phase in linguistic history, not the beginning. Nepali was by this time established in the city, not just entering it. Its use in the royal proclamations can be accounted for only on the assumption that a large proportion of the people spoke it.

Bāburām Ācārya, the father of Nepalese historical studies, writing a few years ago in a Kāthmānḍu periodical, made this comment on the use of Nepali in the *Rānī Pokhrī* inscription. 'When Pratāp Malla constructed the *Rānī Pokhrī tirtha*, he set up an inscription in stone so that news of the *tirtha* should spread all over the country, to the east and the west ; and because Newārī, the language of the capital, was not current in the east and the west, he made use of *khas bhāṣā* in this inscription, thereby acknowledging it to be the national language.' While it is open to doubt whether the term 'national' can be appropriately applied to any one language in use in the seventeenth century within the geographical area now known as Nepal, Bāburām is correct in stating that through the medium of Nepali, knowledge of the lake could be taken to a large number of people living outside the Valley, and that these people could not be reached by Newārī. Nevertheless, he gives only part of the picture. It is insufficient, and may indeed be misleading, to suppose, as he implies, that the only speakers of Nepali to whom the proclamation was addressed were people resident in the Hills. Whereas it is reasonably certain that in A.D. 1670 the major language in Kāthmānḍu, measured statistically in terms of the number of people who spoke it as their mother tongue, was Newārī, there is strong evidence that there were many Nepali speakers permanently resident there at this time, and that the two languages were in use concurrently, both in the court and in the city.

The 1641 Nepali text is inscribed on a dedication tablet in a Śiva temple in Makhanṭol, in central Kāthmānḍu. After the words of dedication to Mahādeva, given in the name of Jaya Lakṣmī Malla, the father of Pratāp Malla, which are in Sanskrit, the remaining passage is in Nepali. It records the precincts of the temple and the penalties attaching to a misuse of them. The phraseology is similar to that of the *Rānī Pokhrī* inscription. The tablet is housed in the inner shrine of the temple, where it was likely to be read much

more frequently by local residents than by visitors from the Hills. It is difficult to see in this instance any intention of spreading the fame of the temple by means of the Nepali inscription. The text was authorized by the king, acting no doubt with the concurrence, if not on the explicit advice, of the court Brahmins, to ensure proper behaviour within the temple and its surrounds; and Nepali was used because, it must be presumed, the majority of Śaivites worshipping there, many of whom were residents of the Makhanṭol area of Kāṭhmāṇḍu, understood it, either as their mother tongue or as a second language.

In Paśupatināth there is a tablet of dedication to Guhyeśvarī. The dedication proper is written in Sanskrit in the form of ślokas; but there is a note below written in Nepali, which ascribes authorship to Pratāp Malla. Paśupatināth was used by both Newārs and other peoples; yet this claim to the authorship of the ślokas, in the composition of which Pratāp Malla prided himself, is written in Nepali. For whom was the information intended? It would have been out of character for the *Kavindra* to declare his achievements to fewer than the greatest possible number of admirers. Modesty does not appear to have been one of his characteristics. The majority of visitors to the shrine must surely have been Newārs. Why then should the note not have been written in Newāri? Only one answer seems feasible, namely that the Newārs, or some of them, could read Nepali, and that in writing his message in Nepali he was in fact addressing it to the maximum number of worshippers. Pratāp Malla himself may well have known Nepali. It would not have been an impossible qualification for a poet-king who dabbled in languages. Clearly too there were scribes, presumably Brahmins, at his court who could compose in Nepali; and the use of that language by them must have had an important bearing on its prestige in the city.

The *vamśāvalī* records of the reigns of Bhāskara Malla and of his successor Jagajjaya Malla mention the employment in the state forces of *Khas*, that is Nepali-speaking, officers. From this it may be assumed that there were *Khas* troops too. The standing of these officers was sufficiently high by the time of Jagajjaya Malla for them to advise the monarch on the important matter of succession, which argues against their being newcomers. It seems likely that *Khas* officers and men had been in the service of the kings of Kāṭhmāṇḍu for several generations at least, including that of Pratāp Malla. The inclusion of five *Khas Magars* in the list of witnesses to the *Rānī Pokhrī* proclamation is evidence of the seniority and influence of *Khas* in the court in A.D. 1670.

Two of the inscriptions above referred to, that of the *Śivālaya*, A.D. 1641, and that of the *Rānī Pokhrī*, A.D. 1670, both contain the introductory formula, 'ataḥ paraṃ bhākhā'. The word *bhākhā*, Sanskrit *bhāṣā*, means lexically 'language'. In the translation of the text it was given as 'vernacular'. That translation has a general accuracy, but further elucidation is necessary. In earlier texts in Nepal *bhākhā* was regularly used in the sense of a language other than Sanskrit, that is to say the spoken language of the people; and the formula in which it occurs was used to introduce passages in Newāri, there being

then no other language to which it could refer. In such circumstances there could be no ambiguity about the application of the word ; but by the seventeenth century possibility of ambiguity had arisen, and it became necessary to specify which language was intended. The proof of this lies in the development of another word for Newāri. In the inscription on the wall of the octagonal temple in the Hanumān Dhokā, which has been cited above, date A.D. 1649, the Newāri portion of the text is introduced by the formula '*ataḥ param deśabhākhā*' ; and there are other contemporary, or nearly contemporary, examples of a similar use of *deśabhākhā* with special reference to Newāri. Thus not later than A.D. 1650 two terms were in use in Kāṭhmāṇḍu, *bhākhā* and *deśabhākhā* ; and as the latter was appropriated to Newāri only, the other had become available for Nepali. The importance of this distinction in terminology lies in the fact that it was necessary. And it could have been rendered necessary only by the existence of a second language which was already firmly entrenched as the medium of a considerable and important section of the population, permanently resident in the city. It is beyond belief that such a distinction would have been considered necessary if Nepali had been merely the language of people whose permanent homes were in the Hills. The monopoly of Newāri in Kāṭhmāṇḍu had been challenged by this time ; and it may be that the adoption of the particular term *deśabhākhā* was dictated by a desire to affirm its prestige as the senior of the two languages.

It is not to be assumed, however, that the term *bhākhā* was used by Nepali-speakers as the name of their own language. We have yet to learn what name they did use.

Little comment is required on the few lines in Newāri—though their content has sociological interest—beyond the fact that they are incomplete by themselves. They cannot be fully understood without reference to the foregoing Nepali passage. The Newāri reader is told of penalties and rewards attaching to his behaviour within the precincts of the lake, but for details of those penalties and rewards he must read the fuller statement in Nepali. The Newāri words are : '*the hlāsyataḥva hathyā pāpa rāka juro*', and '*the dhāko pūnya rāka juro*' ; 'the sins of murder mentioned and recorded above shall be upon him', and 'the merits mentioned above shall be upon him'. This insufficiency in the Newāri text is further support for the theory, suggested above, that some of the Newārs at any rate could understand Nepali. To-day Newārs speak both languages with equal fluency, and there are obvious political and economic reasons for that. But it is an interesting pointer to the prestige of the Nepali language in seventeenth century Kāṭhmāṇḍu that, at a time when they were still under their own kings, when their political ascendancy was ostensibly unchallenged, and when their pride in their own language had not suffered the humiliation of subjection, the Newārs had already started to become bilingual.